

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01     PRETOR 05873 01 OF 02 241327Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----241334Z 119302 /65  
O 241252Z DEC 76  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6502

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 5873

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR RH  
SUBJ: RHODESIA: IVOR RICHARD NEGOTIATIONS

1. HAROLD HAWKINS ASKED TO SEE ME THIS MORNING TO DISCUSS  
VARIOUS ASPECTS OF RHODESIAN PROBLEM. THIS MESSAGE TREATS  
RICHARD NEGOTIATION. NEXT FOLLOWING MESSAGES DEALS WITH  
RECENT DIFFICULTIES WITH BOTSWANA AND TEA PLANTATION MASSACRE.

2. ON THE GENEVA TALKS HAWKINS SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN  
INSTRUCTED BY HIS PRIME MINISTER TO DELIVER A SMITH-TO-  
CROSLAND MESSAGE VIA SIR DAVID SCOTT. HE HAD DONE THIS  
YESTERDAY (DECEMBER 23). HE THOUGHT USG WOULD BE INTERESTED  
IN THIS MESSAGE, ALTHOUGH HE PREFERRED THAT BRITISH NOT,  
RPT. NOT, KNOW THAT HE HAD GIVEN US A COPY.

3. FOLLOWING IS TEXT MARKED CONFIDENTIAL, PERSONAL MESSAGE  
FROM MR. IAN SMITH TO MR. ANTHONY CROSLAND (SALISBURY, 22ND  
DECEMBER 1976):

DURING MY MEETING WITH MR. RICHARD ON 12TH DECEMBER WE  
DISCUSSED THE IMMINENT ADJOURNMENT OF THE CONFERENCE AND I MADE  
A NUMBER OF POINTS WHICH I SAID I WOULD CONFIRM IN A MESSAGE TO  
YOU.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02     PRETOR 05873 01 OF 02 241327Z

FIRSTLY, IN REGARD TO THE TREATMENT OF MY DELEGATION AT  
GENEVA, I BELIEVE THAT I WAS DELIBERATELY MISLED BY YOUR GOVERN-  
MENT. HAD MR. ROWLANDS INDICATED TO ME AT OUR MEETING IN MY  
HOUSE IN SALISBURY ON 4TH OCTOBER THAT WE WOULD BE REGARDED IN ANY  
OTHER WAY THAN AS THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION I SHOULD  
CERTAINLY NOT HAVE AGREED TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE. HE GAVE ME NO

SUCH INDICATION AND IT WAS NOT UNTIL OUR ARRIVAL AT GENEVA THAT I REALISED THE LENGTHS TO WHICH YOU INTENDED TO GO IN THIS REGARD. AS YOU WILL BE AWARE, I MADE THE STRONGEST PROTEST TO MR. RICHARD BUT I REMAINED AT THE CONFERENCE. I MUST MAKE IT VERY CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT I SHALL NOT ATTEND ANY FURTHER SESSIONS UNLESS IT IS UNDERSTOOD AND ACCEPTED THAT I SHALL BE HEADING THE OFFICIAL RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION. I AM NOT ASKING FOR FORMAL RECOGNITION BY YOUR GOVERNMENT OF THE DE JURE STATUS OF THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT AS ACCEPTED BY THE RHODESIAN COURTS. I AM, HOWEVER, STATING THAT UNLESS YOU ACCEPT THE DE FACTO EXISTENCE AND STATUS OF MY GOVERNMENT AS THE ONLY AUTHORITY CAPABLE OF IMPLEMENTING A CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT IN RHODESIA, THERE WILL BE NO POINT IN MY ATTENDING, FOR THE UNREALITY WHICH CHARACTERISED MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION AT GENEVA WOULD CONTINUE. I WOULD REMAIN TO YOU THAT IN ALL MY PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THIS PROBLEM NEVER AROSE. FOR EXAMPLE, MY AGREEMENT WITH LORD HOME WAS NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED IN THE CABINET ROOM HERE IN SALISBURY.

SECONDLY, IN REGARD TO THE COSTS, I CONSIDER THAT IT WAS GROSSLY UNFAIR TO TREAT THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION ON THE SAME BASIS AS ANY ONE OF THE AFRICAN DELEGATIONS. IT WAS CERTAINLY CONTRARY TO MY UNDERSTANDING OF THE SPIRIT OF THE DISCUSSION I HAD WITH MR. ROWLANDS IN SALISBURY WHEN I EXPLAINED THE NEED FOR ME TO TAKE THE NECESSARY BACK-UP STAFF APPROPRIATE TO A GOVERNMENT DELEGATION AND TO ENABLE ME TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH SALISBURY. I HAVE NO INTENTION OF LOADING MY PARTY UNNECESSARILY BUT I DO NEED MORE THAN THE NINE YOU EVENTUALLY AGREED TO PAY FOR. IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE AFRICAN DELEGATIONS WERE HEAVILY SUBSIDISED BY OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS, BUT  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03     PRETOR 05873 01 OF 02 241327Z

THIS WAS NOT THE CASE WITH US. HAVING REGARD TO THE BACKGROUND OF SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA I AM NOT PREPARED TO EXPEND OUR FOREIGN CURRENCY TO MEET EXPENSES WHICH IN EQUITY I BELIEVE SHOULD BE PAID BY YOUR GOVERNMENT. BEFORE AGREEING TO ATTEND ANY FURTHER SESSION I MUST ASK YOU TO RECONSIDER THIS ASPECT IN REGARD TO BOTH AIR FARES AND COST OF ACCOMMODATION.

THIRDLY, I MUST REPEAT THE POINT THAT I MADE TO MR. ROWLANDS IN REGARD TO THE VENUE. A CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF SUCCESS IF IT WERE HELD IN RHODESIA, AT A SUITABLE PLACE WHERE THE PROCEEDINGS COULD BE CARRIED ON IN A QUIET AND CALM ATMOSPHERE FREE FROM THE GLARE OF PRESS PUBLICITY AND THE INTERNATIONAL INTRIGUES WHICH WERE A FEATURE AT GENEVA. IF A RHODESIAN VENUE IS UNACCEPTABLE THEN I SUGGEST THAT A LOGICAL PLACE TO RESUME THE DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE LONDON, FOR THE ISSUE IS BASICALLY ONE WHICH CONCERNS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF RHODESIA. FURTHERMORE, THE COSTS WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN AT GENEVA.

FOURTHLY, I MADE THE POINT TO MR. RICHARD THAT THE VOICE OF THE MODERATE AFRICAN WAS UNHEARD AT GENEVA. AS A RESULT THE EMPHASIS WAS ON SATISFYING THE DEMANDS OF TERRORISTS AND EXTREMISTS. IF A TRUE PICTURE IS TO BE PRESENTED OF THE FEELINGS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE SIX MILLION AFRICANS IN RHODESIA IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR A DELEGATION OF MODERATE AFRICANS TO ATTEND. BECAUSE OF INTIMIDATION - THEY WILL INEVITABLY BE LABELLED AS "SELL - OUTS" - IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO ASSEMBLE SUCH A DELEGATION, FOR AFRICANS IN THIS CATEGORY ARE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS NOT INTERESTED IN ANY VIEWS OTHER THAN THOSE OF THE EXTREMISTS. HOWEVER, A POSITIVE INDICATION FROM YOU THAT THEY WOULD BE WELCOME WOULD, I AM CONVINCED, LEAD TO A NUMBER OF RESPONSIBLE AFRICANS BEING PREPARED TO COME FORWARD. I BELIEVE SUCH A STEP IS ESSENTIAL FOR SUCCESS.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01     PRETOR 05873 02 OF 02 241340Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----241345Z 119344 /65  
O 241252Z DEC 76  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6503

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 PRETORIA 5873

NODIS

FIFTHLY, I SEE NO PROSPECT OF A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME AS LONG AS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT REMAINS IN BEING AND IS DIRECTED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ZAMBIA, TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE. I WARNED MR. ROWLANDS AND MR. SCHAUFLELE THAT IF MUGABE WERE INVITED HE WOULD WRECK THE CONFERENCE. IT WAS ONLY BECAUSE THE CHAIRMAN CONTINUALLY GAVE IN TO MUGABE'S INTRANSIGENCE THAT THIS WAS AVERTED. THIS MAN HAS NO FOLLOWING OF ANY CONSEQUENCE IN RHODESIA AND WAS THERE SOLELY AS THE NOMINEE OF THE BLACK PRESIDENTS. RECENT EVENTS HAVE CONFIRMED THAT MUZOREWA RETAINS THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT OF THE SHONA-SPEAKING PEOPLE, WHO ARE GREATLY IN THE MAJORITY. ANY ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE MUGABE ON THEM IS DOOMED TO FAILURE. FURTHERMORE, HE IS REGARDED AS THE SPOKESMAN OF THE EVIL MEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RECENT ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST AFRICANS IN RHODESIA. HIS PARTNERSHIP WITH NKOMO HAS DESTROYED THE LATTER'S CREDIBILITY AMONG WHITE RHODESIANS - AND AMONG MANY BLACKS - AS A POTENTIAL

LEADER OF MODERATION. MR. RICHARD ASSURED ME THAT MUGABE WAS A CHANGED MAN AND MUCH MORE MODERATE THAN AT THE OUTSET. I CAN ONLY SAY THAT WE KNOW THIS MAN VERY WELL INDEED AND IF YOU BELIEVE THAT HE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN A MARXIST PUPPET, AND A VERY CLEVER ONE, YOU ARE BEING DECEIVED.

FINALLY, I INDICATED TO MR. RICHARD THAT I WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS FROM YOU DESIGNED TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK. I WOULD REMIND YOU, HOWEVER, AS I REMINDED HIM, THAT MY ACCEPTANCE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WAS CONDITIONAL UPON THEIR  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02     PRETOR 05873 02 OF 02 241340Z

BEING ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER PARTIES CONCERNED. I WOULD REGARD ANYTHING OTHER THAN MINOR VARIATIONS AS CREATING A NEW SITUATION, AND I THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT YOU SHOULD APPRISE ME OF YOUR PROPOSALS BEFORE THEY ARE PUT TO THE BLACK PRESIDENTS AND THE NATIONALIST LEADERS. IF THE PROPOSALS ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO MY GOVERNMENT THERE WOULD BE NO POINT IN PROCEEDING WITH THEM.

4. ONLY COMMENT MADE BY HAWKINS WAS THAT SMITH MEANT EVERY WORD THAT THE MESSAGE CONTAINS WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON LAST TWO PARAGRAPHS. HE ALSO NOTED THAT BRITISH (AND I ASSUME WE) SHOULD BE UNDER NO ILLUSION THAT SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD BE NECESSARILY INCLINED TO PRESS SMITH TO ACCEPT NEW PROPOSALS BEING BROUGHT BY RICHARD IF THEY DEPART MATERIALLY FROM ANNEX C. HAWKINS OBSERVED THAT VOSTER HAD PUBLICLY ENDORSED THE FIVE POINT PLAN AND WOULD RUN INTO DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES IF HE WERE SEEN TO BE SUPPORTING BRITISH IN PRESSURE TACTICS TO FORCE SMITH TO MAKE MAJOR CONCESSION TO BLACK NATIONALISTS.  
BOWDLER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-C  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 24 DEC 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** saccheem  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976PRETOR05873  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P840098-2157  
**From:** PRETORIA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19761214/aaaaalss.tel  
**Line Count:** 204  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** saccheem  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 17 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <17 MAY 2004 by woolfhd>; APPROVED <02 SEP 2004 by saccheem>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** RHODESIA: IVOR RICHARD NEGOTIATIONS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PDEV, RH, UK, (HAWKINS, HAROLD), (SMITH, IAN), (CROSLAND, ANTHONY),  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006